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loquar apud senatores populi Romani." He seems to have chosen the word *senatores* rather than *senatum* in order to avoid collision with the suggestions carried by the common S.P.Q.R. phrase.

For these reasons I feel that it is more probable that Caesar intended the genitive to limit *amicus*.

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JUVENAL I. III: *pedibus albis*

Exspectent ergo tribuni,
vincant divitiae, sacro ne cedat honori
nuper in hanc urbem *pedibus qui venerat albis*,
quandoquidem inter nos sanctissima divitiarum
maiestas. 110

The ancient scholiast (Codex Pithoeanus) completely missed the point of I. III, for he took *pedibus albis* to mean "dressed in white trousers or shoes" and to refer to some rich foreigner newly come to the city who by his immaculate footwear acquired more obsequious attention than the tribune could by virtue of his sacrosanctity. The so-called Scholia Cornuti, which are late and inaccurate, explain *albis* as *de pulvere terrae*, "one who came a dusty tramp and is so soon grown opulent."

Modern commentators all take the line to mean "one who recently had come to Rome as a slave." We are justified, I think (even without emending to *venerit*), in translating as a concessive clause: "Let him (the rich freedman from the Euphrates), though he came but lately to the city with his feet whitened, not step aside for the sacred magistrate, since among us the most sacred authority of all is that of riches."

There has been considerable diversity and vagueness in explaining the whitened feet. Mayor simply cites parallel passages. Macleane says, "Slaves newly imported are generally said to have been chalked on the soles of their feet when exposed for sale; . . . but what could have been the use of chalk ng their soles is not obvious to me. They may have worn white slippers, perhaps, or something of that sort." Others note that whitened feet designate the "newly imported" slave, or one "brought from beyond the seas." The note by Lewis, "The origin is probably due to the custom of marking the feet of a slave so that he could be traced, as has been pointed out by Mr. Simcox," states the truth in part, I

believe, and naturally raises the query, "What kind of marking was it and what traces did it make possible?" Farnabius (1648), conjecturing from the use of clay (*creta*) in sealing documents, wrote:

Servi e transmarinis evecti venales prostituebantur cretatis gypsatisque pedibus, signato sigillo domini, si privati essent, reipublicae, si publica mancipia.

There are four passages that relate to the practice:

Tibull. ii. 3, 59:

Nota loquor; regnum iste tenet quem saepe coegit
barbara gypsatos ferre catasta pedes.

A slave has been repeatedly exposed for sale on the auctioneer's staging with his feet coated with gypsum.

Propert. v=iv. 5, 51:

aut quorum titulus per barbara colla pependit
cretati (*sic Passerat. caelati codd.*) medio dum saluere foro.

The slaves are foreigners, and wear both the chalk coating over their feet and, on their necks, the *titulus* (cf. Gellius iv. 2) that described their capabilities and defects. Any number or mark for the purpose of identifying an individual slave would presumably have been inscribed plainly upon the *titulus*.

Ovid *Amor.* i. 8, 63:

Nec tu si quis erit capitis mercede redemptus
despice gypsati crimen inane pedis.

The reproach of whitened feet is applied to the slave newly purchased; his foreign origin is not stated. *Gypsati* and *cretati* denote a comparatively permanent coating of fine plaster, not mere crayon marks; we cannot accept the suggestion that the custom had its origin in a device to track a fugitive by his white footprints.

Plin. *N.H.* xxxv. 199: Alia creta argentaria appellatur, nitorem argento reddens. Set vilissima qua circum praeducere ad victoriae notam [the calx, goal line] pedesque venalium trans maria advectorum denotare instituerunt maiores. . . . talem in catasta videre Chrysogonum Sullae . . . aliosque deinceps, quos enumerare iam non est, sanguine Quiritium et proscriptionum licentia ditatos. Hoc est insigne venaliciis gregibus, opprobriumque insolentis fortunae. Quos et nos adeo potiri rerum vidimus ut praetoria quoque ornamenta decerni a senatu iubente Agrippina Claudii Caesaris videremus, tantumque non cum laureatis fascibus remitti illo unde cretatis pedibus advenissent.

It is not distinctly stated that the whitened feet are a mark to distinguish imported slaves from those bred in Italy (as the *corona* marked the war-captive, and the *pilleus* marked a rogue to be sold without guaranty), and indeed since the vast majority of slaves were of foreign origin and showed it by racial characteristics, it is hard to see the use of any mark for that purpose. But the whitened feet are a sign, we are told, that the slaves *are for sale* ("Hoc est insigne venaliciis gregibus"; "pedes venalium, trans mare advectorum, denotare")—that they are then unemployed and are being shipped by a dealer. The slave bore this mark on the journey from his native land ("unde cretatis pedibus advenissent") and when he arrived at Rome ("in hanc urbem pedibus qui venerat albis").

In regard to the purpose of the practice, I suppose that the white coating of the feet served as an inexpensive substitute for our prison stripes, to enable the dealer to recognize at a glance those belonging to his gang, to facilitate the immediate recapture of any slave who broke away while being transported, and also to denote that the slave was for sale and attract the attention of prospective purchasers.

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